

## **Eye-movement evidence of effort in scalar implicature processing**

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A long-standing question concerns the cost or effort involved in processing scalar implicatures (e.g. “Some apples are red” triggers the inference that not all are). We used a novel combination of visual-world eye-tracking and picture verification to investigate the real-time processing of the “not all” implicature. We crossed quantifier type (some//all) and picture type (all apples are red//some apples are red). Participants’ eye-movements revealed an early sensitivity to the “not all” meaning of “some”, but at the same time, situations where scalar inferences were possible resulted in longer reaction times and fixations, suggesting that scalar implicatures are not costless.